/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

/191 cont./

584 father, and the latter distributes it /192/ to everyone and gives
431 the bringer and all those present some of his own chicha to drink. This continues all night until everyone is drunk. In the morning the daughter-in-law, along with her father-in-law, goes back to the house of the latter, and from then on she lives with her husband until the wedding.

606 In case the father of the girl should not be satisfied with the
● 585 young man as a son-in-law, he would still not take any practical action against this union of his daughter, since he does not have to pay a dowry anyway. Besides, once children arrive, the
[591] parents are always satisfied. If, conversely, the father of the young man is not satisfied with the latter's choice of a bride, he may refuse him his house. In this case the young people customarily immediately build their own house, a small one at first.

58 The wedding generally does not take place very soon after courtship among the Paez, but only after a year or more. First of all there begins a trial period, which, however, has an altogether conjugal character. During this time of "trial marriage" the housekeeping abilities of the girl are to be tested, for the latter brings into marriage no dowry of any kind from her parents or any other possessions except her clothing. Since there are no social grounds for a choice of bride in the nonstratified Paez community, and no stimulus to marry on the grounds of a large dowry or on account of the possibility of a low bride price, there are no
581 child betrothals. As bride and wife a girl has only the merit of
462 her personality and her personal capabilities. The latter have the greater weight. It is required of a woman that she be able to cook and to weave the cloth for the whole family, that she not gossip, keep the house in order, and, above all, that she be able to keep the fire going at night and prepare the meal on time in
[264] the morning. The Paez are in the habit of having their first meal
[252] very early, at five or four o'clock in the morning, and an hour before that the woman must already begin preparing the food.
[362] Moreover, as we have seen, the walls of the house are only made
[513] of maize stalks placed side by side, and give scarcely any protection against the coolness of the night. They therefore sleep lying

/192 cont./

581 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with
462 wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, there-
513 fore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father. Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the girl leads to no resentment of any kind. It does, however, if children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man
[684] nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing
[623] can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a
583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ-
848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the
[557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother. There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, however, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage. The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the
[761] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however,
[851] that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized, since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else demands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period
[178] of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself.
[435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

/193 cont./

585 help. Since the young men almost never own their own cattle, [422] they must earn the purchase price for this by the sale of agricul- [432] tural products. Wheat is usually chosen for this, since it may be [243] harvested half a year after sowing.

585 608 For the wedding celebration about 50 men and women are invited, not only relatives, but also friends, among them the sponsors (padrino, madrina) required for the church marriage service. They sit with the bridal couple (nikálo). The parents [291] and guests on both sides arrange themselves informally. The [431] padrino and madrina must give or loan the bridegroom and bride [426] new clothes for this wedding day, but they differ from the ordinary [301] everyday clothing only in that they are newer and cleaner. No 585 special /194/ ornaments of any kind are put on by anyone. The wedding is celebrated in such a way that the church service takes place in the morning, after which the guests go to the wedding house accompanied by music and have a small midday meal, with which, however, only a little chicha is drunk. The festival ox is not yet slaughtered on this day, and not until the "actual" (as the Calderun say) wedding celebration, which takes place about a month later in the house of the bridegroom. The ox is slaughtered in the morning, and in the afternoon the guests arrive, sit down together informally, and eat and drink chicha and brandy copiously. [533] Music is played for this, but no one dances to it. Before the eating [535] begins, when all are still sober, the padrino makes a speech addressed to the bride and groom, in which he says approximately the following: You are now husband and wife, and you, as the husband, should not beat your wife, and you, as wife, should not use any bad words toward your husband. The husband should also not speak ill of his wife, and the wife should obey if the husband commands her to do something and should help him in all things! Then he takes the hand of the bride and gives it to the mother of the bridegroom, who speaks to the bride as follows: You have now been taken into our family and you are to work for your husband and cook his meals for him and make his clothes and arrange everything for him; in addition, you must help me in the house and carry out my instructions, as well as

/194 cont./
585 those of my husband, and you are not to say bad words either to your husband or to us!

The wedding celebration is as brilliant as possible, which means entertaining the guests lavishly as long as possible. In some families the celebration goes on for more than a week.
[535] There is no dancing in Calderas, but in other Paez villages
[177] Colombian folk dances, usually the open bambuco, are danced.

586 A dissolution of the marriage through divorce is said not to occur even among the non-Christian Paez. Also there is no separation of married people, since man and wife are dependent on each
[837] other for economic reasons. Yet it not infrequently happens --
[848] as reported above -- that married men have children outside their marriage with other unmarried girls.

587 In case of the death of one partner, the surviving spouse may remarry. But whereas for the first marriage he merely could not marry a partner of the same name, in the second marriage he also may not marry a partner bearing the name of the deceased. Thus, for example, Juán Piñakué, who in his first marriage was wed to Ascensiona Kiskué, may not marry a Kiskué a second time.

589 /195/ Widowers continue to live in their houses and, if the
591 children are not yet grown, usually marry a second time; other-
[587] wise they live in the house of one of their grown sons. Widows, if they are older, usually do not marry again. With their children they go back to where they came from, namely, the house of their parents. If the latter are no longer living, they have the right, for the time being, to live in the house of whichever brother happens to be living at the time in the house of the deceased father. If the house is no longer standing, the widow lives with one of her brothers or with other relatives. In any case, she cannot, as a woman, live alone in a house, but always only in one belonging to a man.

/CXXI cont./

Plate LXXXV

[100]

Ill. 161. Framework of a house.

Ill. 162. Dwelling of the civilized Paez being built. The walls are filled with earth to the thickness of a post.

Ill. 163 and 164. Construction details of a Paez house.

Plate LXXXVI

Ill. 165. House annex with the chicha trough. In front of the man's stomach hangs the colorfully patterned coca pouch. Married women wear their hair plaited in a braid. [585] [302]

[352] [513] [354] Ill. 166. The interior of a Paez house. Tables, benches, and beds are lacking. At night they sleep on the floor around the hearth made of three field stones.

Plate LXXXVII

Ill. 167. House garden of the Paez with bananas, sugar cane, and yuca.

[417] Ill. 168. Maize field with fence. A notched tree-trunk serves as ladder.

Plate LXXXVIII

Ill. 169. Portion of a field readied for burning. The tree growth has been cut off at hip height.

Ill. 170. Land used by the village, with black surfaces of the fields burned off in preparation for sowing.

Plate LXXXIX

[241] Ill. 171. Paez burning felled trees. The ashes serve as fertilizer.

Ill. 172. Men setting out sugar-cane shoots with the digging stick.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

marriage bonds were not definitely made until experiment indicated the fecundity of the woman, and that the union was dissolved at the will of the husband if the wife proved to be barren. The same authority informs us that the wife had to give her husband the necessary clothing, while the husband provided food for the family.

A custom mentioned by Castillo was that during menses the women spent the time sitting in small huts expressly built for that purpose, for fear of contaminating the common dwelling and of bringing disease and death to its occupants.

Rodriguez relates another custom in connection with childbirth and death: ". . . y siempre que pare la mujer, ó que muere alguno de su familia, desamparan la casa, dexando en ella al difunto con cantidad de bastimento y de la chicha, brebage, que beben: y á las casas donde parió la mujer, las dejan con las inmundicias de el parto, y acabadas de nacer las criatures, las laban, y se vañan sus madres, poniendose en viaje á buscar nuevo paraje para su habitacion, que siempre procuran sea en parte muy fragosa, por no ser visitados."

These details are confirmed by Castillo and were probably still observed in his time. As to what is done at present, and regarding the family organization in general, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information. The Indians are very jealous of their women, do not tolerate in them any intercourse with strangers, and become instantly distrustful when questioned about family matters.

With reference to death, Castillo differs from Rodriguez in that he states that a dying person was taken from the house, so that he did not actually die in it, and that the dwelling was destroyed by fire. He does not mention the custom of leaving food near the corpse, but states that the body was buried and a fence built around the grave.

Diseases

No diseases came under my observation during my stay at Huila and Tacueyó, and the Indians rather impressed me as being a healthy people. But if their vocabulary affords suffi-

/187 cont./

says the youth after he has conferred upon the parents-in-law bottles of aguardiente and calabashes of chicha according to his means. The parents always accede to the request.

At midnight he goes off with her to the house of his parents, if he does not have one of his own. They will live together for several months, one year, two...; during this time he will find out whether the woman can cook, grind maize, carry water and firewood, weave ponchos and /188/ pouches, and he will become familiar with her fidelity, temperament, and character. Only then will he look for a sponsor /padrino/, seek out the priest, take communion and receive the nuptial blessing, and return to his house, where the bubbling troughs of chicha, the savory "mute" /maize stew/ boiling in the pot, the crude guitars and the pleasing chirimías /a kind of orchestra/ will complete the sealing of the union. They will go through the night, and sometimes days as well, drinking, eating, and dancing.

The building of the house on the land of his property will soon follow. Gradually, the man will furnish it with pangopil for sitting, crude plates and spoons for eating, pots for cooking, hides and sometimes raised platforms for sleeping, a sugar mill to mill the juicy cane; he will bring water from distant sources, provide troughs in order to ferment chicha, purchase machetes, axes, and picks to work the land, plant bananas, sugar cane, onions, and cabbages in his garden; he will put together the barzos where he will keep the bundles of wheat, the ears /caspas/ of maize, the mulberry-colored beans; he will acquire a dog and also -- why not? it has been his ambition and his hope -- he will buy cattle for the fiestas and a horse to race for San Juan and to operate the sugar mill. The woman, on her part, will tend the guinea pigs, breed her chickens and turkeys, look after the pigs so they will not be lost, shear the sheep, weave her yaha gwala (fique bags) for carrying the compact ears of maize, the rustling beans, and the green cabbages

/205 cont./

535 keeps her head low, with her eyes on the ground, attentive to the musical notes which she seems to interpret with her movements. One foot forward, then one back, in swift alternation; she suddenly stands in her partner's way, then does an about-face. She keeps her arms motionless against her abdomen.

The man, on his part, dances with his forehead held high, his arms motionless against his thighs, his face joyous. From time to time he shouts: "Viva the Conservative Party!" or "Viva el Cauca!"

It is customary for the fiestero and the albacero to dance with each other's wives, after their respective "care."

535 It is the rule for the newlyweds and the sponsors to open
608 the dancing at weddings. In the midst of the dancing and at
585 different times the bride and groom kneel before their sponsors /padrinos/ to receive /recitarles/ the blessing, the bride before the padrino and the groom before the madrina. The latter
[576] bless them and give them their hands to help them rise. After the dance of the newlyweds and the sponsors, the others present may dance, and in the midst of the dancing they, too, greet one another /206/ by placing the right hand over the other person's left shoulder and pressing it.

535 Although one colonial writer speaks of specific dances, nowadays they are only a memory; it is said that there is performed in Avirama the dance of the little bird (vicha kú), danced by young girls at dawn. Calderas informants say that it is very ugly and for this reason they do not dance it. It may possibly correspond to the Itza-ko noted by Pittier de Fábrega

XIV

The Great Day

796 Before dawn raises its pale face above the black rims of the eastern peaks, the women have already left their hard beds

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/1(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

Education.—Today the Indians are educated principally by their parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

Marriage.[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholicism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother, and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

Death.—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1936 on matrimonial matters.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguex*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Páez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptismals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

[585] Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

526 The *Páez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguex* always masquerade during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, per- [769] formed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Páez* and the *Moguex* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among [756] men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by [177] the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, [178] but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast [462] days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these 771 people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

/181 cont./

162 583 595 Lame: 8 families (6.2% of the approximate total of Lame families). 87.5% were married first by the Church; 12.5% practiced the amaño.

184 Mosoco: 26 families (10.4% of the approximate total of families in Mosoco). 88.1% followed the Catholic law; 11.6% practiced the amaño.

Although the percentages for the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame may not reflect fully the real situation concerning the custom owing to the paucity of data, one can clearly see the vigor that it still has in Calderas, a parcialidad less acculturated, 581 of course, than the others. Once the man is convinced of the 594 fertility of his mate, the marriage is legalized at the altar of the [585] Catholic Church. Then the economic co-operation of the spouses, initiated at the beginning of their married life, is stabilized and gains strength, and the marriage becomes, as one of our informants remarked, an association for the "mutual benefit of the contracting parties, to serve each other, without in any way 594 being a burden to either of them." The man enlarges his clear- 462 ings in order to take care of "the sustenance of the family," plants sugar cane and coca in order to obtain chicha and narcotic for holding mingas /work parties/, in order to celebrate religious festivals, in order to "cuidar" his relatives and to relax with his friends; he hires himself out as a peon /182/ in order to acquire money and to buy shawls for his wife, wool and cloth that the woman makes into camisas for herself, her husband, and her sons, and trousers for these last, begins to build his house, if he does not have one, on the lot that his father has assigned to him, to make a home for his family. The woman, on her part, administers the products that her husband brings to her, weaves the ruana /poncho/ and kuetand-yaha (mambe pouch /a bag for the ingredients of chews/) for the husband and children, prepares the food, raises hens and pigs, and cares for her children less than three years old (13). In this manner, among the Páez, marriage,

13. For the division of activities according to sex, see our work "Economía de los Páez /Economy of the Paez/," /published in the